

Message Text

SECRET

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FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8164
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 6903

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

FROM NEWSOM FOR ACTING SECRETARY

LONDON PLEASE PASS SECRETARY

1. TWO DAYS (JULY 15-16) OF INTENSE BUT FRIENDLY CONVERSATION WITH PAKISTANI OFFICIALS, INCLUDING TWO MEETINGS WITH GENERAL ZIA UL-HAQ, CHIEF MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATOR, MAKE IT CLEAR PAKISTAN WILL NOT VOLUNTARILY CANCEL REPROCESSING PLANT. FULL DRAMA YET TO BE PLAYED OUT SINCE FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE JACOMET WILL ANNOUNCE TO THEM JULY 17 GOF INTENTION TO CANCEL PROJECT. AS I WRITE THIS, I CAN ONLY SPECULATE ON WHETHER THIS WILL BRING SHARP OR CONSIDERED PAKISTANI REACTION.

2. SEVEN POINTS STAND OUT FROM MY CONVERSATIONS HERE:

A. PAKISTANI CONVICTION THAT SOVIET UNION NOW CLEARLY IN CONTROL IN AFGHANISTAN AND THAT THIS FACT REPRESENTS THREAT OF MAJOR MAGNITUDE TO THEM.

B. DEEP AND CONTNUING SUSPICION OF INDIA, EVEN THOUGH THERE IS OCCASIONAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT INDIA HAS SOUGHT TO IMPROVE RELATIONS AND THAT SUCH RELATIONS IN PAKISTANIS' INTEREST. HOWEVER UNREALISTIC, SETTLEMENT OF KASHMIR REMAINS KEY TO ACCEPTANCE OF INDIA.

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C. SCARS IN RELATIONS WITH U.S.: OUR ARMS EMBARGOES IN 1965 AND 1971, AND, NOW, RESTRICTIONS ON AID DUE TO REPROCESSING PLANT. THEIR RECOGNITION OF OUR IMPORTANCE TO THEM REMAINS BUT THEIR CONFIDENCE IS SHAKEN.

D. RESERVED ATTITUDE TOWARD IRAN. THEY REGARD THE

SHAH AS A FRIEND, BUT DO NOT SEE THAT SHAH COMING TO THEIR HELP. THEY CONSIDER HIS POPULATION IS UNTRAINED AND HIS ARMY UNTESTED.

E. TOTAL LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN CENTO, BUT WILLINGNESS NOT TO BURY IT ABRUPTLY.

F. STRONG TEMPTATION TO EXPLORE ACCOMMODATION WITH NON-ALIGNED BLOC AND, THROUGH THEM, WITH SOVIET UNION.

G. BASIC GOVERNMENTAL WEAKNESS. THE SHADOW OF BHUTTO, WHO STILL IN JAIL, REMAINS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL FIGURE IN THE COUNTRY, HANGS OVER ALL THAT PRESENT REGIME CONSIDERS.

3. THE SITUATION HERE PRESENTS US WITH A CLEAR CONFLICT BETWEEN CONTRADICTORY INTERESTS. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT PAKISTANI CONCERN OVER THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN IS REAL. NEITHER CAN WE DISMISS LIGHTLY THE INDICATIONS THAT THE AFGHAN REGIME MAY WELL GIVE TO THE SOVIETS FURTHER OPPORTUNITIES TO ADVANCE THEIR INFLUENCE IN SOUTH ASIA. A TRADITIONAL RESPONSE BY THE UNITED STATES THROUGH THE SUPPLY OF APPRECIABLE MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO PAKISTAN WOULD BE WELCOMED HERE AS WELL AS BY THE IRANIS, THE SAUDIS AND OTHER TRADITIONAL FRIENDS IN THE AREA.

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4. ANY SUBSTANTIAL RESPONSE - OF THE MAGNITUDE THE PAKISTANIS PROBABLY HAVE IN MIND - WOULD RUN COUNTER TO OUR ARMS LIMITATIONS POLICY AND WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY CAUSE SOME PROBLEMS WITH INDIA AS WELL AS AT LEAST A VERBAL REACTION FROM THE SOVIET UNION. ANY SUBSTANTIAL FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FROM THE U.S. IS OUT OF THE QUESTION FOR BUDGETARY REASONS. HUMAN RIGHTS CONSIDERATIONS WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY COME INTO PLAY. THE BULK OF CONGRESSIONAL SENTIMENT WOULD BE SKEPTICAL OF THE NEED FOR A RENEWAL OF SUBSTANTIAL MILITARY SUPPLIES TO AN OLD STYLE ALLY. THERE WOULD BE THOSE WHO WOULD ARGUE THAT PAKISTAN HAS EXAGGERATED THE AFGHAN THREAT TO RE-ARM; THAT INDIA IS STILL ITS MAIN PREOCCUPATION. OTHERS WILL SAY THAT, DESPITE THEIR THREATS TO UNDERTAKE OTHER OPTIONS, THEY HAVE NO PLACE TO GO.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 6903

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5. NEVERTHELESS, I BELIEVE CONTINUED WEAKNESS OF
PAKISTAN COULD BE A DESTABILIZING FACTOR IN THE AREA.
WE CANNOT DISMISS LIGHTLY ARGUMENTS RE PAKISTAN'S
GEOGRAPHIC POSITION NEAR TO MIDDLE EAST AND INDIAN OCEAN.
AFGHAN SITUATION IS, AT LEAST, UNCERTAIN. I BELIEVE
WE SHOULD TAKE SERIOUSLY GOP'S TALK OF OTHER OPTIONS.
GENERAL ZIA'S POINT TO ME THAT ANY ELECTED CIVILIAN
GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD COME INTO POWER, WITH OR WITHOUT
BHUTTO, WOULD PROBABLY CHOOSE NON-ALIGNED POLICY, OUT-
SIDE OF CENTO, IS PROBABLY CORRECT.

6. RIGHT NOW, WE MUST LET THE FRENCH APPROACH ON THE
REPROCESSING PLANT PLAY OUT. ASSUMING PAKISTANI REACTION
IS NOT SO SEVERE THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER COOPERA-
TION IS LIMITED, I BELIEVE WE SHOULD THEN WORK TO BUILD
A MODEST U.S. CONTRIBUTION, IN COOPERATION WITH OTHERS,
INTO A MEANINGFUL RESPONSE TO PAKISTAN'S CURRENT
APPREHENSIONS. IN LAST ANALYSIS, OUR OWN MILITARY
CONTRIBUTION MAY BE LIMITED SINCE FRENCH ARE MORE WILLING
TO SUPPLY ADVANCED AIRCRAFT AND, POSSIBLY, OTHER WEAPONS
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THAN WE ARE.

7. I WOULD PROPOSE THAT:

A. ONCE PAKISTAN HAS ACCEPTED DECISION ON REPRO-

CESSING PLANT, AMB HUMMEL APPROACH GOP WITH IMMEDIATE
OFFERS TO:

- (1) RENEW ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE
- (2) ACCEPT PAKISTANI VERSION OF DEBT RESCHEDULING QUESTION
- (3) INDICATE READINESS TO SELL DESTROYERS AND DESTROYER
TENDER, AND OTHER MILITARY ITEMS CONTAINED IN MY
INSTRUCTIONS
- (4) PROPOSE PARTICIPATION IN INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLAN
PLAN IN BALUCHI AND PATHAN AREAS.

B. MEET WITH FRENCH TO DISCUSS RESPECTIVE APPROACHES
TO PAKISTANI MILITARY REQUIREMENTS AND TO FINANCING.

C. ENCOURAGE SHAH AND SAUDIES TO ASSIST IN FINANCING
ITEMS DESIRED BY PAKISTAN.

D. GIVE PAKISTANIS WRITTEN STATEMENT OF OUR RECOG-
NITION OF THE DURAND LINE AS THEIR NORTHWESTERN BOUNDARY.

E. INDICATE OUR READINESS TO CONSIDER REQUESTS FOR
SALE OF OTHER MILITARY ITEMS.

8. THIS APPROACH WILL NOT FULLY SATISFY THE PAKISTANIS.
IT WILL NOT BE EASY TO BRING ABOUT. NEVERTHELESS, IF ONE
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ACCEPTS THAT THE AFGHAN COUP IS CAUSE FOR CONCERN
AND THAT THIS REGION ADJACENT TO THE INDIAN OCEAN REMAINS
IMPORTANT TO US, I BELIEVE IT IS OUR ONLY REAL ALTERNATIVE.
HUMMEL

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